FREEDOM

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Notes and Comments

Terzani

On July 14th last a meeting was held at Astoria, N. Y., under the auspices of the Khaki Shirts, the new Fascist organization which claims 10,000,000 members. After the address of the leader, Art Smith of Philadelphia, there were questions, followed by heckling. Smith left the platform and assaulted members of the audience with a whip, and a free-for-all fight developed in which knives and blackjacks were used. Shots were fired and the lights went out, and a young anti-Fascist student, Anthony Fierro, was found to have been killed.

Athos Terzani, anti-Fascist worker and a comrade of ours, had been standing at some distance from the scene of trouble and had left the hall after the shot was fired. He returned and pointed out the man who had done the shooting. Smith, claiming that it had been intended for him, at once accused Terzani of being the one who had fired the shot. The police arrested Terzani, charging him with the murder. There is no shadow of doubt that Terzani is innocent of the killing, but it would be a bull's eye for the Fascisti to murder one anti-Fascist worker and have another electrocuted for doing it. Money will be needed for Terzani's defense, and it should be forthcoming from our readers and comrades. We urge all those who see this appeal to do everything in their power to help. Contributions may be sent to Freedom, P. O. Box 111, Station O, New York, N. Y.

Terzani has since been indicted for second-degree murder which carries a possible sentence of life imprisonment so quick action is of the greatest importance.

NRA:

The topic of the hour is the National Recovery Act or, as it has been abbreviated, the NRA. In so far as it deals with industrial and white-collar workers we agree with Comrade Crocker that their only protection lies in organization, for those trades and professions that are organized will have a much better chance of defending their interests and preserving present standards—poor as these are—than those unorganized. In connection with this question the following, taken from an article by James McMullin in the New York *Evening Post* of August 1st, is illuminating.

Needs

The Federal Reserve Board didn't stress its latest figures, but they are impressive. They show that business activity has to gain only 7 per cent to get back to the 1924-25 normal. But employment would have to gain by 46 per cent and pay rolls by 134 per cent over their present level to recover to the same normal. That's the purchasing power story in a nut-shell.

A New York authority has worked it out on the basis of these statistics that if business were allowed to revert to normal without any effort to stimulate purchasing power we would have a permanent unemployment roll of more than 9,000,000 people.

These facts have begun to sink in deeply among the industrial and financial bigtimers. They account for a remarkable change of attitude in the last two weeks. You find very few left who still maintain that nature should be allowed to take its course.

Nine million represents about 20 per cent of those supposedly engaged in "gainful occupations," or one person out of five. If men and women, i.e., ordinary persons like ourselves, do not work they do not buy, and when they fail to buy the capitalist fails to make money out of them—so "intelligent selfishness" may win out over greed which, in the nature of things, is unintelligent. One can not be sure, however, in view of the action of each capitalist group to obtain favorable conditions for itself and to let the other fellow hold the bag. Being naturally pessimistic, we are afraid Roosevelt's "reforms" will salvage the system for a time but it is due for a fall and when it falls it will be all in a heap like the one-hoss shay.

Taxes vs. Morality

When is a comedy a comedy, and when is it a tragi-comedy? A few weeks ago a man named Mitchell, former head of the National City Bank of New York, was put on trial for having cheated the U. S. Government out of $850,000 in income taxes. After many days and much red tape a jury was selected to try the case and evidence was taken which, reduced to simple terms, established the fact that Mr. Mitchell had written a letter to his wife—which he presumably handed across the breakfast table—selling her some shares of stock for less than he had paid for them, thereby establishing a loss on the transaction; that he then made out his income-tax report showing a net loss on his income for the year, and the government thereby lost $850,000 it would otherwise have collected. It was also established that a few months after this sale Mrs. Mitchell had written a letter to her husband selling the shares back to him at the same price that she had paid him, and the transaction was then complete. We say "paid" advisedly, for no money passed between the so-called buyer and seller, and they were so careless or so frugal that they even neglected to put government stamps on the letter, thereby saving another $150. Not much, it's true, but even $150 on a transaction involving a saving of $850,000 is worth while in these times.

Mr. Al Smith, the "people's friend," and five other worthy citizens came as character witnesses to tell the jury that Mr. Mitchell was an honorable gentleman. Mr. Medalie for the government told them he was a liar and a cheat, a plain swindler, and the transaction a pure fake. The jury retired and after due deliberation declared Mr. Mitchell innocent of fraud. Mr. Medalie shook hands with the man he had just called a swindler, and everyone was happy. Yes, even we were happy, for even if the truth comes from liars and swindlers, it is still the truth. The keynote of the defense was that morality has nothing to do with paying taxes, and that no one expects a man to pay them if he can get away without doing so. Of course, if the man had been a working man, a clerk or a farmer unable to engage a lawyer like Aaron Steuer the result would have been different. If such a man had had a net income of $40 a week for the year and out of it saved $10 each week by depriving himself of some of the necessities of life to buy a house on the instalment plan and had tried Mr. Mitchell's method, he would have been asked how he could expect the protection of the army, navy, police and all the other agencies of government if he didn't pay his just taxes. He would have been told that it is scandalous for a man to try to cheat his own government, and a jury of his peers would promptly have found him guilty of fraud, with no Al Smiths to tell the jury how honorable a man he was, and off to prison he would have gone with none to mourn him but his family.

During the progress of this trial, if trial it can be called, J. P. Morgan, Otto H. Kahn and a dozen other pillars of society were testifying in Washington that they, like Mitchell, had paid no income taxes for two and three years. Their defense was, like his, that no one pays taxes if he can avoid it. In other words, that patriotic duty is piffle and observance of the law purely a matter of expediency, that the man who pays taxes when they can be avoided is like the man who offers to pay a higher price for something than he is asked—and when that happens a man's relatives have no trouble in having him declared incompetent and put in a place where no one can harm him. . . . . When is a comedy a comedy and when is it a tragi-comedy?

Scheidemann and the Nazis

The New York Times prints in its issue of July 20 a dispatch from Prague to the effect that Philip Scheidemann—whom they designate as a German Socialist Leader—a refugee in that city, addressed a letter to President von Hindenburg asking him to obtain the release of five persons arrested and placed in German concentration camps for no other reason than that they were supposed to be relatives of his. He says in his letter regarding the seizure by the government of property belonging to the Socialists that: "From the party organization alone, without reckoning what they obtained from allied organizations, the Nazis pocketed more than 40,000,000 marks. [The mark is currently worth about 34.75 cents.]

"The party owned 120 newspapers, which were published in 102 Socialist printing works. These alone were worth 40,000,000 marks. Large sums of cash fell into the hands of the Nazis, and in twelve Socialist undertakings they obtained at least 1,000,000 marks in cash. The total sum must be much higher than 40,000,000."

As was stated in a recent issue of FREEDOM, in February, 1922, the Railway and Electrical Workers of Berlin went on strike and the then President, the Socialist Ebert, seized the funds of the union with no more legal right than had the Nazis when they recently seized the funds of the Socialists. The Socialists at that time not only defended the action but denounced the strikers as traitors to the Fatherland and hounded them back to work, victimizing the most active ones. After fifty or sixty years of denunciation of those advocating any method of redressing grievances other than voting and the following of leaders, the spirit of resistance of the German masses has been deadened so, that when, after a fake election, 51% of the people vote the Nazis into power the other 49% lie down and allow themselves to be treated like dirt by the "majority." As to the plight of Herr Scheidemann, it leaves our withers unwrung. . . . When is a comedy a comedy and when is it a tragi-comedy?

H K.

The Servile State is Here

By DONALD CROCKER

Over thirty years ago W. J. Ghent, an American Socialist (he left his party in 1917), wrote a book, *Our Benevolent Feudalism,* in which he described a form of social organization which might conceivably supersede individualist capitalism—a system of rigid stabilization and regimentation. In this society the inherent contradictions which had threatened the survival of the profit system would be solved—or at least their consequences averted for a very long time. The proprietor class, more securely entrenched than before in their wealth and power, would remain at the top of the scheme of things. The rest of mankind would be stratified in sharply defined and permanent castes (not least important of which would be the military), descending in the scale of comfort and esteem to the bottom layer—the unskilled workers. The share of each caste in the distribution of goods, and the conditions of toil and manner of life of the nether groups would be dictated, to the last detail, from above. There would be some sort of place in this social plan for everyone. There would be no starvation. There would be order. There would be efficiency. There would be peace. And there would be slavery—slavery without hope.

Prophecies similar to Ghent's are contained in H. G. Wells' *When the Sleeper Wakes* and Jack London's *Iron Heel,* the latter envisioning a desperate but unsuccessful resistance by the workers. Both these books, and Ghent's, are well worth reading. Written a generation ago, many of their speculations have already been startlingly confirmed.

When Ghent's book appeared it was roundly berated by Socialists as rank heresy against the Gospel according to Saint Karl. Was it not written in the inspired revelations of The Master that a proletarian revolution and a cooperative commonwealth must inevitably, almost automatically, succeed private capitalism? So Comrade Ghent was dismissed as a fanciful trifler, ill grounded in the True Faith.

Well, the course of events has proved that he was right and they were wrong. What Herbert Spencer long ago called "The Coming Slavery" and Hilaire Belloc more recently "The Servile State" is no more a vague future peril. *It is here.*

Labor's Last Chance

International Labor had its supreme opportunity to achieve Revolution and a Free Society in the chaotic three or four years following the Armistice. It failed to seize that opportunity chiefly because it was drugged with Marxian fatalism and betrayed by Marxian politicians. And now black Reaction—more deadly than the Reaction which gripped Europe after the fall of Napoleon — is triumphant everywhere.

Let its name be Nazism in Germany, Fascism in Italy, Sovietism in Russia, or the New Deal in America, its fundamental purpose is the same. The liberty of the individual shall be utterly subjected to what is autocratically decreed to be the good of the herd. The State shall exercise unrestrained coercion over the citizen.

Anarchists, however widely they differ one from another upon a multitude of issues, are at any rate united upon one or they are not Anarchists at all: That the inviolable self-sovereignty of the human individual is the highest good, the indispensable condition of tolerable living, for the loss of which no measure of material advantage can compensate. It almost seems in these days that Anarchists are the only people left to whom the concept of Freedom is still precious. Wherefore the writer confesses to scant patience with those professed comrades who apparently hold their Anarchism as a fad, a hobby, a pleasant dilettante diversion—this at a time when, perhaps as never before in human history, they must fight desperately if they would preserve from complete destruction everything they hold dear in life!

Immediate Anarchist action is imperative—concrete action, its aims and tactics clearly defined.

Exit Laissez Faire

The enactment of the Industrial Recovery Bill may well prove to be the most important event in the history of the United States. It marks the end of *laissez faire* capitalism—and the first step toward the Servile State.

That the operation of this law will measurably ameliorate distress is probable. It will somewhat stabilize industrial conditions and curb to a degree the excesses of the worst employers. But—and this fact is carefully suppressed by the liberals and laborites who are loud in its praise—inescapably it must mean abolition of the *right to strike.* And that means the outlawing of unionism — for a union which may not declare a strike is no union at all. And it means for the workers *slavery.* Literal slavery, for the one outstanding difference between the so-called "free" wage worker under capitalism and the chattel bondsman is that the former has the privilege of withholding his labor at will. That privilege will presently be denied him. When Government assumes the power to mandate his hours and wages, to resist is treason. It is accounted treason, and punishable as such, under the several European dictatorships. So will it, must it, be here.

Labor "Takes It!"

Yet we find the leaders of American organized labor not only acquiescing but eagerly assisting in the forging of their chains! And more—the editor of the official organ of the erstwhile revolutionary I.W.W. writes (*Industrial Worker,* June 27th):

"If the powers that be, governmentally speaking, have in mind the organization of the army of production as an integral part of what is now called 'planned economy,' why do they not approach it from the standpoint of scientific industrialism as advocated by the I.W.W.? Sooner or later they will have to swing over to the position of industrial unionism anyhow. It would be a startling innovation, it is true, but the results might be unexpectedly beneficial. At least the I.W.W. has something to offer."

If this doesn't mean that the sole reaction of the I.W.W. to the advent of the Servile State is resentment that it isn't invited to assist in the functioning, what does it mean?

An Anarchist Program

The case is desperate, but in really desperate cases men cannot afford the luxury of despair. Wherefore the writer submits the following proposals for Anarchist action:

1. If our present meagre liberties are to be preserved, as well as our opportunity to agitate in the open for a Free Society, it is the wage workers who must do it. Not, of course, that the members of this class are made of any finer clay than the rest of mankind, but that in a modern industrialized society they occupy, as Marx correctly pointed out, the potentially invincible strategic position. Anarchism expressed in schemes of colonization, barter, rural cooperatives, and what not, may be interesting and perhaps valuable, but the writer insists upon their strictly minor importance. Our hope is in the industrial proletariat, and in them only. It follows that the burden and heat of the coming struggle falls upon wage-earning Anarchists. But comrades who are not wage earners may and should render invaluable aid.

2. There is no existent organization in America which represents Anarchism in terms of revolutionary labor unionism, i.e., Anarcho-Syndicalism. The I.W.W. once nearly did so, and a regenerated I.W.W. may do so yet. The dilemma of the I.W.W. from an Anarchist viewpoint the writer hopes to make the subject of a future article.

(It is interesting, in passing, to mention that no other than William Z. Foster, back in 1912, published a pamphlet, *Syndicalism,* announcing his stillborn "Syndicalist League of North America." The contents of this work, which Foster afterward publicly repudiated, could be endorsed almost in their entirety by Anarcho-Syndicalists today. Brother Foster, for just once in his zigzag career, was right —and has been wrong ever since!)

3. It appears to the writer that the program of the Syndicalist International, the I.W.M.A., is one to which American Anarcho-Syndicalists can unreservedly subscribe. Our first task, then, is the immediate creation of an American I.W.M.A. unit. If it is small at first, no matter! It is in order here to heartily commend the ringing "Call to Action" by the Revolutionary Syndicalists of Los Angeles, published in the May FREEDOM.

And so shall we open our war against the assassins of Liberty and the enemies of mankind! In the test may we prove not unworthy successors of the heroic comrades who have gone before!

A CALL TO ALL WORKERS

At a General Conference of the I.W.W. (E.P.) the membership went on record to call a General Membership Conference, October 1, 1933, at 344 South El Dorado Street, Stockton, California, for the sole purpose of re-organizing the I.W.W., with the full right to change the Constitution as the Membership should deem advisable.

The membership of the I. W. W. realizes the necessity of a genuine Rank-and-File Organization which will be powerful enough to combat the master class, and also realizes that many now delinquent members are interested in a move of this kind, but have been unable to pay dues. Therefore, at this Conference we have taken action to lower the initiation fee to fifty cents and the dues to twenty-five cents per month, thereby giving all workers an opportunity to be in good standing or to join the I.W.W. and to take part in its re-organization. We assembled here have made it possible to develop a genuine Rank-and-File Organization such as the workers shall consider an effective weapon to accomplish the emancipation of the working class.

We are issuing this call to all workers who realize the necessity of Organization to join with us, and we call on you to be present at this Conference and to take advantage of the opportunity presented.

For further information write to Box 754, Stockton, California.

Publicity Committee,
Ed. Cahill
Frank Kingsley
Elmer C. Womble

Southwest District I. W. W.

For Amnesty of all Political Prisoners in Spain

The workers of Spain have reached a state of oppression under the present régime which is no different from that of the old monarchy. A national campaign throughout Spain was organized and carried on as much as was possible under the circumstances during the week of June 17th to 25th. Public sentiment in favor of the workers' demand for complete amnesty for political prisoners was so tremendous that a petition was brought before the Cortes on July 11th. A number of left wing deputies urged the immediate liberation of the imprisoned workers and peasants, who number about 9,000, the large majority having committed no other crime than that of being affiliated with the National Confederation of Labor.

Some of the deputies pointed out that this national protest was similar in character to that of 1923 during the former dictatorship. Amnesty was granted at that time and among those liberated were some who are ministers in the present government. In answer to this challenge the President of the Council of Ministers, and Minister of War, Señor Azaña, declared: " . . .in the year 1923 the manifestation and clamor of protest for the release of political prisoners were justifiable under that régime, but the present demand for amnesty is uncalled for and unjustifiable because this régime represents the voice of the Spanish people."

It is needless to relate the manifestations which have taken place in this campaign for amnesty under the despotic monarchy and cruel dictatorship before the nation was reclaimed by the workers, who have since suffered so unjustly and shamefully as victims of fantastic and scandalous plots. Of these majestic uprisings of the past we need not speak, they speak for themselves eloquently, and only those will not listen and remember who have converted Spain into one vast feudal state controlled by politicians who call themselves Republicans and Socialists the better to enrich themselves at the expense of the workers and peasants.

The present Republican régime is no more nor less than the previous dictatorship under another name. The same scandalous, criminal persecutions which took place before take place today, altered only in method but increased in cruelty. Before repressions were limited to the law—today the laws are so flexible that the authorities interpret them to suit themselves, and therefore every outrage is permissible. Notwithstanding the repressiveness of the statutes, if abuses were at least confined to them the prisoner might, perhaps, claim his constitutional rights, but the agents of the Republic go much further: they thrust aside even the laws, monstrous as they are, by mistreating and beating prisoners in the most cowardly and ferocious fashion, and have even gone so far as to burn their victims alive, as was done recently at Casas Viéjas.

The reprehensible behavior of the government has aroused millions of Spaniards to constant indignation and has made them more determined than ever in their protests. They can no longer remain indifferent. To be silent now is impossible if one has a human heart and courage.

The more repression that exists, the greater the manifestation of protest and, in turn, the more ferocious the repression. Little by little the jails are being filled with all the workers who have protested most energetically against the despotism of their rules in an effort to defend those rights of which they are deprived by the Republic. The best militants of the workers' movement are being victimized by wholesale arrest and incarceration, there being close to nine thousand social and political prisoners in Spain today. The following figures are from the recent survey made by the Committee for the Defense of Prisoners in various regions of Spain:

Andalusia	4,200
Catalonia	1,500
Levant	1,000
Asturias	700
Aragon	500
North	400
Galicia	200
Central	400
Canary Isles	40
Total	8,940

"Freedom for all political and social prisoners" is the popular cry of the Spanish comrades, and it should be echoed and supported by all workers' organizations in America. The workers throughout the land must form committees and give this demand for amnesty the most widespread publicity. In order to make ourselves heard effectively it is necessary to form a national movement to protest against the barbarous oppressions and to demand the liberation of our comrades in Spain. We can still more effectively help by arranging manifestations before the Spanish Embassy and the Consulates in every city of America, and by contributing funds for the defense of these nine thousand unjustly imprisoned workers and for the maintenance of their helpless families. L. G.

To the Editors of FREEDOM:

This week I received FREEDOM and read about the conference that is to take place at Stelton, July 1st to 3rd. I thought it a proper moment to lay before the comrades a very vital question as to the Odyssey (Odisea) that our valiant comrades are living through at present in Spain. No doubt you are aware of the fact that about nine thousand comrades are behind bars, both in the jails of the Republic and aboard the battleship "Manuel Arnus"; that the Prosecutor-Fiscal of Terrasa Cataluña asks the death penalty for 42 comrades who took part in the uprising of a year ago; that, according to *El Luchador* of this month, six young comrades at Granada were tortured at police headquarters, and, like the Cambios Nuevos of many years ago, were forced to admit having taken part in the placing of some bombs that were found in many parts of the province. It is horrible to read how some of these boys have been tortured, their eyes having been burnt with cigarettes, their testicles smashed, etc. Why continue? You know the rest.

What pains me more perhaps than all I have told you is the silence, the shameful silence, that our press, the Anarchist papers of this country, with the exception of one or two, have observed up to now. I would like to know the reason for this silence. I was astonished to see this last number of FREEDOM without a line about the events that took place on the ninth of last month as the result of the General Strike that both the C.N.T. and the F.A.I. held as a protest against the cruel persecution of which they have been victims, and for the liberation of all political prisoners. Not only, I think, is it the duty of all self-styled Anarchist journals to give just publicity to the heroic struggle for Anarchism that the conscientious workers are waging in Spain, but also a campaign ought to be carried on in their behalf, such as public meetings, etc. Will you put this question before the conference—providing you think it is of importance, as, of course, I do—I hope you do, and I deeply hope that something may be done about it.

Hoping to hear from you soon, with best wishes from us all to all of you including our dear Viejo, I am, fraternally yours, Aurora Alvarez

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Dear Comrades:

At the very beginning I must thank you for cooperation and hospitality while I was in America. Now that I am in Spain I believe that I must tell you what I have seen and heard here.

The paper of the C.N.T. has been stopped, and all our organizations are watched by the police. They allow us to go in and out but not to do any business. I was told that May 9th was the day for the national strike, and I saw many soldiers and police walking through the streets carrying rifles. It looks as though a war is going on. Spain is going through the stage of terror, but I am sure that the Social Revolution is possible.

Because I don't understand Spanish it is very difficult for me to participate in the movement, in fact, almost impossible. But I do hope that I can make a simple living here so that I can stay and fight for social revolution hand in hand with our comrades.

Most of the comrades are young and revolutionary; they are the vanguard of the revolution and the champions of human liberty. Their spirit, activity, and solidarity make me alive, happy, strong!

Sometimes I wonder why I didn't have such a feeling when I was in the U.S.A., for we Anarchists do have some freedom of press, of speech, and of assembly there, while here in Spain we have practically no freedom, yet here the comrades do their work victoriously and I feel so happy. From now on I sincerely hope that all our comrades in America will cooperate and prepare themselves for social revolution. Don't let the Spanish comrades beat you!

Wishing all of you to struggle forward,
Comradely yours, Yet-tone

From *Instincts of the Herd in Peace and War*, by W. Trotter. Second edition. London. 1919. p. 253.

"The exploration of the psychology of man's social relations has been left almost exclusively to the operation of what we may call the method of prophetic intuition, and there is no branch of knowledge where the fumbling methods of unclarified intuition have introduced more confusion. Intuitions in the sphere of feeling—moral intuitions—have more than the usual tendency of intuitions to appear as half-truths surrounded and corrupted by fantasies of the seer and isolated from correlation with the rest of knowledge. Let us consider, for example, the intuitional doctrine of philosophic anarchism. The nucleus of truth in this is the series of perfectly sound psychological conceptions that all social discipline should be, as experienced by the individual, spontaneous and voluntary, that man possesses the instinctive endowment which renders possible a voluntary organization of society, and that in such a society order would be more effectively maintained than under our present partially compulsory system. This nucleus, which of course is not understood or expressed in these definite psychological terms by the anarchist, is apt to be associated with dogmas which altogether obscure its unassailable truth. Communism, again, is another doctrine which contains its core of psychological truth, namely, that individual property is an economic convention rather than a psychological necessity, and that social inequality is an infirmity of the state rather than its foundation stone. As it is exemplified in practice, however, communism is so deeply tainted by the belief in an inverted class segregation of its own, and by a horror of knowledge, that its elements of reality are wholly obscured and rendered useless."

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To Our Readers

Owing to certain circumstances it was decided to publish one issue of FREEDOM for the months of July and August, which explains the delay in publication. We expect to publish the paper regularly from now on, but it will take a great deal more support from the comrades and readers than we have had up to the present. Those who have written to say they like the paper far outnumber those who have written to the contrary, but, after all, the acid test is the support that is given. The only expense attached to publication is that of printing and postage, which amounts to between $115 and $120 an issue. If we can get that much we can continue; if not it may be just as well to discontinue and throw our support to other Anarchist papers. The issue is really up to the readers. What is their answer?

Letters to the Editors

Istanbul, Turkey, May 18, 1933

Now that I've read the first volume of *Living My Life* I also feel as if I'd known many of the people you mentioned. . . .

Emma Goldman's autobiography is one of the most thrilling books I've read in years. I couldn't put the book down, remaining sleepless and foodless until I'd read the first volume. (I am trying to find out where Volume II is. You see, we have the book through a book club here.) I was impressed by Goldman's sincerity and her violent determination not to be downed by any obstacle. I find her style direct, forceful, somehow breathing vital words. Her fearless revelation of her personal life is a fine explanation of her desire for a new emancipation and equality for women. She has made herself clear on points that have often puzzled me. . . .

X. Y. Z.

[The above are extracts from a personal letter from a young American friend residing at present in Istanbul (Constantinople), Turkey.]

"I CANNOT KEEP QUIET!"

An Appeal

As an Anarchist and as a young comrade I wish to voice a protest against the publication in the May issue of FREEDOM of an appeal by Alexandra L. Tolstoi entitled "I Cannot Keep Quiet!" As an Anarchist publication, wishing to voice the principles of Anarchy, I believe it did wrong in publishing the above-mentioned article.

Countess Tolstoi appeals to the League of Nations to boycott Russia because of its bloody terror. She appeals to the nations of the world not to "continue to trade with these murderers (meaning Russia) and corrupt their own governments." I wonder whether she asks Germany and Italy to protest against "Bloody" Russia. How, in the name of common sense, can anyone appeal to the nations of the world to stop the bloody reign of terror in Russia if in their own countries they themselves carry on a reign of terror! Their whole system, the system of capitalism, is based on robbery, theft, murder, and corruption. Alexandra L. Tolstoi is very quiet about that.

Why does she not raise her voice in protest against the atrocities being carried on against the workers in Germany? Why does she not protest against the terror of Fascist Italy? Why does she not protest when the American workers are given bullets when they ask for bread? Is the government of the United States, of Germany, of Italy, of England, is any government better than the one in Russia? Is not every government committing such crimes as the Bolshevik régime is?

We as Anarchists realize that and therefore condemn all governments; we as Anarchists cannot criticize only the Russian government for we clearly see that the Bolshevik government, the so-called "dictatorship of the proletariat," is no better than any capitalist government.

Are we becoming so intoxicated with anti-Bolshevism that we are willing to print any article written against Russia; are we becoming so dogmatic in our attitudes that instead of centering our fight on government and oppression in general we continually aim at Bolshevik Russia in particular? Are we not committing the very same mistakes that the Communists did in Germany by centering their fight on the Socialists instead of on Hitler? Let us realize that after all we are against *all* governments, not only the Russian.

I wonder whether Countess Tolstoi mourns the loss of the lives of the bourgoisie elements rather than the loss the workers are suffering. I wonder whether, if her great father were alive today, he would not protest with me against the publication of his daughter's article in an Anarchist publication. I wonder whether Leo Tolstoi would center his fight on Soviet Russia in particular or governments in general at a time when Russia has such elegant competitors as Mussolini, Hitler and others.

Let us as Anarchists stop pointing our propaganda at the Russian régime, the Bolshevik terror, and let us attempt to show man (for who stands higher than he?) that liberty, equality, justice and brotherhood can only be had when *all* governments are abolished.

Arthur Weinberg

Chicago, Ill.

The letter of our young comrade, printed in full, shows that he has failed to read previous issues of FREEDOM or that, like so many, he is so blinded by feeling that he doesn't see what he reads. We have printed more about Spain and Germany than about Russia, not because the tyranny in these countries is worse than that in Russia, for it is not, but because such events are more recent in these countries and not so well known. We do not know any "Countess" Tolstoy, but as one who has worked with the Bolsheviki for eight years, "Alexandra" Tolstoy should know far better what is going on in Russia than Comrade Weinberg. Because she does not include Germany, Spain and Italy as well as other capitalist countries in her condemnation does not vitiate her statements. Further, we are not concerned with her motives in writing the appeal but only with the question of whether her statements are true. If they are they should be heard 'round the world, and as long as FREEDOM is true to its name they will be.

We print without comment extracts from a letter of Comrade Isaak, dated May 22nd, 1933, and written at Lincoln, California. As was stated in a recent issue, Comrade Isaak is a veteran of forty-odd years in the Anarchist movement. He comes from Mennonite stock, and, through the Russian and German press as well as private correspondence, is in touch with what is going on in Russia. His source of information is good and his integrity of the highest. —H. K.

* * *

. . . I agree with you entirely regarding the language and truthfulness of an Anarchist paper. Nothing is gained by sensationalism. Of course, it sounds rather overstated when Alexandra says so and so many were "banished" from Moscow. She did not mean, of course, that they were banished to Siberia, but that those unable to identify themselves (when the passport craze was initiated) had to leave the city and hence were without work or food cards.

Lately Russian and Russian-German papers bring letters carrying even more terrible reports . . . In many villages the death rate from starvation is enormous. . . . Thousands live exclusively on pumpkins and beets.

. . . By the way, Dr. Harry Ward rebukes the editor of *The Congregationalist* for printing the appeal and my letter, but Gilroy hits back pretty strongly. Perhaps you know this Doctor of Divinity. He claims to know more about Russia than Alexandra. (Bunk)

A. Isaak

. . . The intellectual calibre of the paper is impressive and gratifying. The editors' loyalty to the spirit of freedom, rather than a narrow devotion to some pet doctrine or other is, in my opinion, the most enduring sort of justification which any Anarchist paper could have.

Wendal Bull

Lest I be accused of being a scoundrel, a traitor, a renegade or all three combined, . . . or of having gone the way of all flesh, I hasten to inform you that none of these things has happened to me as yet. And to tell you the truth I feel more than just a bit guilty for not sending on a word of cheer and encouragement before this. . . . But I feel, just as you expressed it in the issue of March 18th, that words are meaningless, action is the thing that counts, and since I've not been able to express all that I have felt in action or deed I've just kept it all to myself. . . . The enclosed pittance will in a small and meager way reassure you that I have not fallen by the wayside, . . . and I take this opportunity to wish you and the undertaking a grand and glorious future for the upbuilding of a real, vigorous movement.

The notes and comments in the issue of March 18th are bully good stuff. Wish our people would take your sincere words to heart and start something along those lines. There is really a wonderful opportunity to build from the ground up, and form a foundation which would not disappear with the first ill-blowing wind.

Yours for less talk and more real work,

Ben Capes

July 20, 1933, Stelton, N. J.

To the Editors of FREEDOM:

A great deal of controversy has arisen since the last Anarchist Conference, held at Stelton, N. J., on July 1st and 2nd, as to the sincerity of the Vanguard Group. This arose out of an incident of absolutely no significance, but which was evidently misinterpreted and absurdly exaggerated. I am referring, of course to the fact that of the six Vanguard members who happened to be at the conference, five of us walked out at the end, for the simple reason that

we were fatigued and that we felt that the conference was at a close. This act was absolutely spontaneous and should have carried no weight with it at all; it was neither planned nor discussed beforehand in any fashion whatever.

The reason for writing this is that some comrades have spread a rumor to the effect that we "came to the conference with an ultimatum," and that because the amendment which the Vanguard Group made to the resolution was not accepted we "walked out on the conference!" This was not so. It is sad indeed that comrades can come to such childish conclusions. As it happened, one of our two delegates left at least half an hour before the others did, which should have been a definite enough indication that the walking out was purely individualistic with us, as it was with numerous other comrades who left at about the same time.

Comradely yours,
Secretary of the Vanguard Group,
45 W. 17th St., N. Y. C.

June 27, 1933

Dear Comrades:

In the latest numbers of FREEDOM there have been some timid references to the subject of money. The June, 1933, issue contains this statement in its editorial columns: "Anarchism as a political ideal cannot tie itself up with any one economic theory, although some of our readers think, for a number of reasons, that it should." Being one such reader it may not be amiss for me to state the reasons for my view. Anarchism, as I understand it, is the belief in liberty both as a means and an end of progress toward social harmony and justice. If this is so then it necessarily follows that it is a belief in free and equal access to natural resources, in free production, and free exchange. This belief may be called a theory, and, in my estimation, is the "one economic theory" that Anarchism, to be a consistent philosophy, must "tie itself up with." To be *practical* exponents of a philosophy it is necessary to do more than generalize, it is necessary to demonstrate its feasibility by showing the effects of its application, and this is exactly what Proudhon did by applying it to exchange, i.e., to a monetary system.

Further on in the editorial it is mentioned that the work of Henry George, Proudhon, and Benj. R. Tucker "left the great mass in this country untouched," and it is therefore inferred that it is folly to follow in their wake because to do so is to "work on the principle that the problem will be solved without considering the workers at all"—which, by the way, doesn't logically follow. In so far as Henry George's "solution" is concerned (in which, incidentally, he justifies interest), it has repeatedly been shown to be fallacious and therefore no solution at all, so we may let it pass. But had you said that the work of teaching the benefits of liberty to the people had been rewarded with little understanding or assent, that it had been done "without considering the workers at all," the logic would have been not a whit different. The point is that that is just the problem in question, the ability and technique of reaching the workers, and the fact of the matter is that the very effort you are putting forth in publishing FREEDOM shows that you have not despaired of doing so.

Again you say, you are "unable to see it (mutual banking) as a cure-all and the idea that a movement for human emancipation can be limited to one class is wrong in principle as well as bad strategy." Suppose that classes were conceived as being those of exploited and exploiters, would you consider that the abolition of exploitation was "wrong in principle as well as bad strategy" because it did not "emancipate" the exploiters? But is it true that the establishment of free banking would benefit only one class? The chapter entitled "Money, Credit and Interest" in the Vanguard publication "What is Mutualism" by Clarence Swartz, or "Proudhon's Solution of the Social Problem" edited by Henry Cohen, or any of Hugo Bilgram's economic works say otherwise. It is really surprising and a terrible indictment of the intelligence of the American people that there has not been a movement for monetary reform during this financial crisis. The only individual bellowing for the abolition of interest has been the capitalist Henry Ford; and with all that may be said against him, we may at least lay this to his credit.

While not a Communist, I certainly am with anyone struggling for freedom, though I cannot agree with those putting faith in cataclysms called "social revolutions" to usher in a libertarian society, or with any others who are carried away by grand hopes and grand phrases; and Communism, even if sound and possible, cannot be conceived of, or at least isn't conceived of, as the result of a slow evolutionary process. Violent revolutions are almost always followed by a period of terrible reaction. No one can predict into what they will lead. They are the result of passion and not of cool reason. I know that it is a beautiful dream to think and hope that at "one fell swoop" social injustice will be done away with, but it is utopian none the less. It is good enough for emotional people, for poets and dreamers, but not for practical men of the world. It would be amusing were it not so tragic to witness the Marxians, the Communists, and such of the "fanatic fringe" waiting for the revolution" to come" (for revolutions are not made) so that they may take charge of things via the "dictatorship of the proletariat." Meanwhile the same old steal continues and anyone attempting to do anything about it is dubbed a "reformer." We must wait until "historical processes" have done their dirty work. Truly, "science" brings us to most wonderful conclusions. Man with his intelligence and his will, it tells us, is an impotent factor in determining the course of history. This is "religion is the opium of the masses" with a vengeance.

Oh yes! to clearly show to the farmers, the workers, and the middle classes not only that approximately 75% of exploitation is due to the denial of freedom in banking, but that it hampers production to less than one-fourth of the possible output and is the effective cause of capitalistic accumulation is to aim a telling blow at one of the greatest tyrannies in human history.

Fraternally yours,
Laurance Labadie

Why "*timid* references to the subject of money"? This seems to imply that it requires courage to discuss monetary affairs. Actually, attacking bankers and the part they have taken in robbing the people has become a commonplace and is indulged in even by the "best" people. So far as we know no one in this country has been committed to jail or shot at sunrise for advocating the theories of Proudhon, Tucker, Bilgram or Major Douglas; on the contrary, it is as safe to do so as to preach the Golden Rule. No one understands these theories but the bankers, and they are against them, so where is the danger? We just don't happen to believe that the question of exploitation and tyranny is merely financial; if to feel that way is to be timid—well, we will have to bear the stigma of the accusation, but to us it doesn't make sense and we can't help feeling that Comrade Labadie got his adjectives mixed.

Our argument regarding the Henry George and Mutual Bank movements was, we thought, stated quite plainly, but we will try to be more explicit. The working class does not now and has never thought in terms of taxation or finance. Comrade Labadie, with his background and experience, should know this. The workers do know and understand that if they can organize a given trade or industry they can improve conditions of labor and that is why they think, when they think at all, in terms of some form of trade unionism or Syndicalism. If this is so, and forty years' experience in the labor movement convinces us that it is, whatever benefits may flow from changes in the system of taxation or banking will have to come from the middle or so-called "upper" class. In view of the history of these movements, to deny this is to deny the obvious. We can easily grant that it is a terrible indictment of the intelligence of the American people that there has not been a movement for monetary reform during this financial crisis, but who is to make it, and how is it to be made? The working class must be ruled out, for to them it is an unreal thing, outside their experience. (It is our conviction that it would be easier to teach the entire population of this continent to speak French than it would be to teach them the theories of say, Hugo Bilgram.) The bankers must be ruled out for quite another reason, so we have left only the small middle class and farmers. These two groups could be interested, and we hope they will be; but to us bank reform is not a cure-all, and Comrade Labadie may draw what conclusions he chooses from that attitude. It is possible that by changing our monetary system we would change our form of government, but it is equally possible that by changing or abolishing our form of government we would change our monetary system or adopt a new method of exchange.

Variation is a law of life, and in a condition of freedom, i.e., Anarchism, that variation should be greater than it is at present. To assume that Mutual Banking is the *one practical* method of distributing wealth is to overlook the law of variation. It may be a good method, but why assume it to be the only one? To try to make one's Anarchism *practical* by tying it up with Mutual Banking is to violate the very principle of Anarchism, which says, in effect, that different groups not only may have but surely will have different methods of distributing wealth as well as of creating it. If the workers of a Detroit automobile factory produce a thousand automobiles and ship them to New York in exchange for a certain amount of clothing it is no business of the clothing workers' as to how the automobile workers distribute the clothing. They may do it by the Mutual Bank method or by the method of Free Communism or by some other method. To asume that it must be by one particular method or inequality will continue to result is to display a rather rigid type of mind.

As to the question of revolution, it seems to us that Comrade Labadie wants to make a revolutionary change in society by dispossessing the bankers, abolishing interest and all the other perquisites of the ruling class, and to do it simply by what he calls education. A laudable, if somewhat naive, desire in a society where bankers can and do steal the money of millions of people openly and shamefully and with impunity. However, we cheerfully grant that Comrade Labadie has a right to believe as he does even with all the facts against him. Revolutionary changes can only be brought about by revolutionary methods, and as to the methods in which we believe, we have expressed ourselves in FREEDOM from time to time, and shall continue to do so.

H. K.

"The United Front"

By T. H. BELL

1149 W. First St., Los Angeles, Calif.
April 5, 1933

Dear Tom Mooney:

At the meeting of our Libertarian Group, here in Los Angeles, last night, an invitation was read to us that we should send a delegate to the convention at Chicago in regard to your case. We decided unanimously not to send one and to have nothing to do with the convention. But, so that you should not misunderstand our attitude in regard to you personally, I was delighted to draw up a letter to be sent to you explaining it.

It is not at all because the people in our group have lost their interest in your case or changed their opinion. We have all of us been active in it, most of us for a long time, some of us from the very beginning of the agitation. In my own family, for instance, when the Blast was refused the mails because of its position on your case it was my children who when the bundle of papers was sent by express to us in Phoenix, Arizona, kept mailing them two or three at a time so as not to attract attention to them till the news and the appeal had reached the proper people and the matter was taken up by them. You have not forgotten, I trust, that it was the Anarchists who took it up first. As a group here we did a good deal of work for you: it was our group, for instance, which some four years ago organized the open-air meeting on a Sunday afternoon in the Selig Zoo Park, a meeting which in spite of the rain was still the most striking held up to that time.

"Well, yes, all right," I hear you say, "but why are you not doing anything *now?*" In the first place, Tom, because you have handed over control to the Communists. Under such circumstances we cannot and will not work with the Communists in anything. In that matter we are not alone. We get along always very well with the I. W. W. or with the Socialists—differing often strongly, of course, and quarreling occasionally, but on the whole, apart from the heat of the moment, with proper respect for each other. We recognize too and respect highly some good comrades in the Communist movement, people whose sincerity and devotion is quite evident. But, as you must know, the attitude of the Communists as a party, of the Communists in general, from Lenin onward, has been that truth, honesty and common decency are mere bourgeois prejudices and that any scruples in regard to promises or fair play are just silly. Unfortunately for the Mooney affair they have taken that attitude not only towards the bourgeoisie but towards all other radicals, with the result that they have aroused against themselves a feeling of bitter indignation and intense hatred which puts co-operation with them in anything out of the question.

There is secondly the difficulty in regard to our Russian comrades. It was no doubt good propaganda to have your mother travel through Russia. But it made many people among the well-informed disposed to ask: "Good that Mother Mooney should talk about her son; but what about the other Tom Mooneys? He is the only one in the United States maybe; but what about the many thousands of Tom Mooneys in Russian prisons and arctic wastes? His trial was indeed a shamefully unfair one; but these other fellows had no trial at all."

It might be amusing, if it were not so tragic, to hear the Communist speakers now appealing to us for a United Front. They are so earnest in these appeals that one is almost moved sometimes. But you know, Tom, that there is one way and one way only in which that united front can be obtained. Let them begin by releasing from the horrible hellholes in which they are being held all political prisoners in Russia—the Social-Revolutionaries, the Mensheviki, the Zionists, the Anarchists, the Trotskyites, the revolting peasants, the dissatisfied working-men—guilty only of your own crime, of disagreement with "the powers that be." Let them proclaim in Russia a genuine free speech, take away the soldier sentry at the door of every printing office; let them . . .

"What, what, what, what?" All right then, I need go no further.

Yes, in our opinion, Tom, when you handed over control of the propaganda in your case to the Communists you made a bad mistake. You yourself had some experience before. You know that out of the collections they made for you all over the country they did not send you a nickel till the scandal became too open—when they sent you a nice, new five-dollar bill. They will continue to exploit you in the same way. "At least," you may say, "they are doing for me more than you who are doing now, nothing at all." I doubt it, Tom, I think they do you much more harm than good.

One of the reasons why we have not been organizing meetings for you is our belief that the time has gone by in which real good work could be done for you by either Anarchists or Communists. When nobody else was speaking for you we had to speak up. But long ago it became apparent, alas, in view of the present attitude of the workers that any chance you had was through the action of the liberals, that the best thing we could do was merely to help in the meetings organized by them.

Anyhow your association now with the Communists does you no good with the American public—nor with any radicals but themselves. The Communists are not only hated but despised. The Anarchists, the I. W. W. and such like were hated too, no question, but despised never. No trickery has been too raw for the Communists, trickery that would bring a blush to the face of a Tammany politician. The prisoners whose causes they have pretended to take up have too often been merely their victims. Take that Scottsboro affair! The Communists must have known quite well, when they muscled into that case and elbowed out the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, who were taking it up, that their intervention in such a way would rouse to a fury the prejudices of every Southerner and go far to seal the fate of the prisoners; whereas if the men are really innocent the N. A. A. C. P., avoiding as far as possible arousing the mob, and appealing to the many millions of people in the South, who, however bitter in their prejudices, are still against the hanging of innocent men, would have had them out by this time. The propaganda for the Communist Party in Russia and in Germany has been splendid, but it has been at the expense of the men they have been pretending to help. Take for that matter their recent conduct of your own case! They must have known quite well that Caldecotte was a fake, an arrant rascal, and that his exposure might have the most serious consequences for your movement. Did they care? Not one iota so long as he helped them to get good collections and plenty of publicity.

You are all wrong, Tom. It is not the Communists who help the Mooney agitation, but the Mooney agitation which helps the Communists. They never help it when they can get nothing out of it. On the contrary, whenever a meeting is got up by us or by the liberals they show themselves determined obstructionists, refusing to allow its posters in their hall, lying about its whereabouts or its meaning, getting up something else at the same time to keep their adherents from going to it. Of course, so long as they call their meetings under the title of the "Moulders' Mooney Defense" or the "United Committee for Agitation against Hitler," or the "United Front," or the "Scottsboro Defense," etc., etc., they can get audiences and money; as the Communists, under their own name, the people they draw are merely their own crowd, with perhaps a stray negro or a bewildered Chinaman and never more than at most three or four of the English-speaking people we are accustomed to call "Americans," the people whom in America it is essential to reach. Even now with their anti-Hitler meetings they are not getting the Germans; the only German speaker at the "United" meeting here was a member of our own group. The German radicals in this country feel that apart from the idiotic folly of the Allied national governments the blame for the Hitler disaster in Germany can be very fairly divided in two halves: one-half to the wretched leadership of the Social-Democrats, the other to the hatred and fear of Communist tyranny. The disunited German working class between them has fallen helplessly before the reactionaries. The ordinary workingman just lost heart; and even the enlightened Syndicalist or Anarchist, when not already in prison, must have felt that it was little use risking his hide fighting to put in power those people who would put him in prison just as promptly as the party he had helped them to fight.

We are very sorry, Tom, but if you want to put the Communists in complete control you will have to do without many others who cannot possibly work with them under such conditions. As a matter of fact, I must confess that at the present moment we are too tied up in other things to do anything for you right away. For the last year or two we have been helping, not without considerable success, the General Defense of the I. W. W. in its struggle for the Kentucky Miners—something to which I am sure you will not grudge any energy spent. (Please note that the miners on trial themselves consider the propaganda of the Communist I.L.D. for them as merely an attempt to horn in on the money.) And now we really must turn to and do something substantial for the Russian Political Prisoners, for those brave men and women who are condemned to a slow death from starvation and misery because they have dared to continue dreaming of a Free Russia, that Free Russia for which so many of her noblest sons and daughers gave their lives in the past. You will remain in our minds, of course, as a courageous and honest man, entitled to our full respect and deep sympathy, for whom we shall be glad to do something when the opportunity offers itself.

This attitude of ours has probably been indicated to you more or less by Bessie Kimmelman and Rose Pesotta, members of our group, and by Joseph Cohen, until recently editor of the Freie Arbeiter Stimme, all of whom have visited you recently.

With sincere regards then—and good hopes—we remain,

Yours fraternally,

The Libertarian Group of Los Angeles,
Per T. H. Bell

Book Review

Little Man, What Now? by Hans Fallada. Translated by Eric Sutton. Simon & Schuster. $2.50.

Hans Fallada gives us a good picture of the broken-down morale in Germany today. His story centers about Pinneberg, a German clerk, Bunny, his wife, and their child. It is told simply and might be compared to "Bad Girl" in theme, but unlike "Bad Girl" its social aspect is broader.

Bunny's brother is a Communist, her father, a cynical union man, her mother harsh but kindly. In spite of her home environment she falls in love with Pinneberg, who might be called a German Babbitt, a righteous German citizen with no political affiliations. They have an affair and Bunny decides to marry him when she discovers she is to have a baby. They settle in Ducherow, where he has a position as clerk in a farm-supply house.

Pinneberg resorts to numerous subterfuges to hide his marriage because he feels that it is a bit irregular. The announcement is postponed further because he is aware that his employer has chosen him of the three clerks in the office to marry his 32-year-old daughter. Bunny, having had the seeds of unionism implanted in her by her family, suggests that he make a pact with the other two clerks that if any one of them is fired the other two shall quit. The clerks when confronted with this plan become suspicious, but to protect themselves agree to it.

Pinneberg gets a severe blow when he learns that he is the one chosen to be let out. The others, glad that they are no longer in danger, refuse to stick by him.

From Ducherow the pair go to Berlin at the invitation of Pinneberg's mother. Herr Jachmann, his mother's lover, succeeds in getting a job as clothing salesman for Pinneberg through "lying and fraud." This distresses the young man but he reconciles himself to it for the sake of Bunny and the coming child. Some months after the baby is born he loses this position in consequence of the vicious "quota" imposed by the efficiency expert. Months go by and he is unable to find another. The problem of just living becomes acute as winter approaches, and the ever-upright Pinneberg refuses to steal a little wood to keep his home warm. Bunny makes a few marks by sewing. Heilbutt, a fellow salesman at the clothing store, helps a little, and they continue to exist.

An extremely tragic picture is drawn at the close of the book when Pinneberg, unable to face the agony of returning home again, stops in front of a shop window. A policeman tells him to move on, and when he doesn't move fast enough pushes him off the sidewalk. He sees his reflection in a mirror, "collarless, clad in a shabby ulster, and tar-smeared trousers." He realizes that he no longer "belongs." He cannot hold up his head. He is not respectable. This is the supreme tragedy.

Pinneberg represents many millions in the world today. When their "white collars" are torn off they are classless, positionless. They see no way to alleviate their misery, nor do they make any effort to prevent it.

In the course of the story we get a brief sketch of a Communist and a Nazi. Though no political events are described one feels that in the mind of everyone is the question as to which of these two factions will eventually control Germany.

N. M.

SUMMARY OF THE MINUTES OF THE ANARCHIST ENGLISH PROPAGANDA CONFERENCE HELD AT STELTON, N. J. JULY 1 AND 2, 1933

The Conference was opened in the Kropotkin Library as scheduled by Sarah Cohen, Secretary of the Conference Committee, and she was asked to remain in the chair. After brief opening remarks and the election of committees, Comrade Cohen introduced Abe Grosner, who gave a short resumé of the labor entailed in publishing FREEDOM and urged upon the comrades the necessity of doing some practical work to support the paper. Harry Kelly gave a short talk as to the difficulties of editing the paper and suggested questions to be considered at future sessions of the Conference, questions which have been discussed in FREEDOM from time to time. Comrade Kelly felt it time to consider why it is that all our propaganda is addressed to the industrial working class, and the farmer and white-collar worker are largely, if not completely, ignored. If Anarchists formed a party, like the Socialists or Communists, striving for control through a majority of votes or a form of dictatorship, such a policy would be understandable; but in the light of the Anarchist ideal it is illogical and unwise.

Comrade Axler presided at the second session and Comrade Jack Frager at the third. During these sessions Comrades Claire Camerau, Frager, Crocker, Slater, Raymond, Spivak, Sprintzi, Rose Pesotta, Dolgoff, Abe Winacour, Goodfriend, Sarnoff, Kayser, Bass, Freeman, Sassnofsky, and many others spoke, and for the most part agreed in stressing the importance of some form of concerted action. The Vanguard Group submitted a resolution, which is printed below, and Crocker and Slater disagreed with Kelly, insisting that the industrial workers must be the front and vanguard of our movement and Syndicalism be accepted as the most applicable economic theory through which to appeal to them.

It was agreed, but without much enthusiasm, that the farmer and the white-collar class should be approached, but as to how no one could say.

Crocker criticized the typographical appearance of FREEDOM, claiming that it was not attractive. Kelly replied that Anarchism is a philosophy which should be treated seriously, and that the appearance of the paper should correspond to its contents. The general opinion regarding the policy and make-up of the paper, as expressed by Rose Pesotta, was that it should discuss current events from the standpoint of Anarchism and that these items should appear on the first page of the paper.

Comrade Sassnofsky stated that she had been grieved to see members of the Vanguard Group march in military formation in a demonstration organized by Communists. She expressed the opinion that a single program could not be worked out for the working class and that Anarchists would have to give up the idea of a definite program. The barter idea, while small, she thought practical, and addressing herself to Dolgoff, who had disparaged the idea in so far as it related to Anarchism, pointed out that he had painted his own apartment on a barter arrangement with his landlord.

Raymond gave a definition of Anarcho-Syndicalism and showed its weakness. He was opposed to ballyhoo and urged the comrades to avoid yellow journalism. The movement must rest on a fundamental basis and tolerance be regarded as one of its greatest assets.

The following resolutions were presented and passed after much discussion:

By Comrade Spivak:

Since organization is necessary for the success of the Anarchist movement, and since all Anarchists have common aspirations and purposes—the negation of authority and freedom for the individual—be it hereby resolved:

1. That we shall work toward the formation of an Anarchist Federation representing all Anarchist groups in the United States;

2. That this Federation shall have no executive power and shall serve only as an instrument to carry out and coordinate the decisions of the Groups;

3. And that each group shall retain its full autonomy and independence.

By the Vanguard Group:

The Vanguard Group finds it necessary to acquaint the conference with the general considerations underlying its decision to continue issuing a separate publication instead of joining forces with FREEDOM. Apart from helping to clear away certain misconstructions which some delegates will be tempted to place upon this decision, it will also, by initiating a discussion of a general nature, contribute to clarification of some of the basic issues facing the conference in its work of organizing Anarchist propaganda.

The Vanguard Group is of the opinion that one of the necessary conditions for the regeneration of the Anarchist movement must be a greater effort to define its fundamental ideas in the light of the great changes brought about by the new period into which we have entered. This effort can be undertaken only on the basis of a definite set of underlying Anarchist principles held in common by the members of a group or a federation of groups. Whatever the particular system of ideas be, whether it express the philosophy of individualism, libertarian communism, mutualism, or any other form of Anarchism, its ultimate value will be tested only when it becomes relevant to the great issues of the coming social struggle. That means that the regenerated Anarchist movement will have to undergo a much sharper process of differentiation. It will be to the benefit of the movement as a whole to have each and every current within it function as a separate unit, with its basic tenets and programmatic implications clearly articulated. This is the necessary condition to wresting the movement from the hold of platitudinous generalities and worn-out phrasemongery.

That is also why the Vanguard Group finds it necessary to have a paper to represent a definite current of Anarchist thought and not the movement as a whole. A paper must be a powerful medium for crystallization of ideas and tactics, and that is why it must represent a definite set of ideas, a definite approach to the realities of the day. Any other sort of paper will fail in the great task of making concrete our ideas in the language of America today, without accomplishing which our movement will never amount to a great force.

There are many mansions in the Anarchist philosophy, and each and every one of them has its legitimate place provided it assume a clearcut outline of its own. There is room for every current of Anarchist thought, for every set of Anarchist ideas, provided it show enough vitality to pursue its own road, to find its way of ingress into the realities of American life. But there can be no room for confused thinking, for diffused, shadowy ideas, for fatuous compromises in the name of a specious unity.

The Vanguard Group believes in Anarchist unity, in Anarchist cooperation, but only on the basis of each and every phase of Anarchism assuming a definite character of its own, on the basis of clearly defined channels of activity specific to each and every point of view. Clarity is the greatest need

of our movement at the present time, and in its name the Vanguard Group has decided to cleave to its policy of publishing a separate Anarcho-Communist paper.

By the Spanish comrades, unanimously accepted:

Recognizing the fact that the reactionary "Socialist" Government of Spain, with the aid of the "Syndicalist Committee of 30," is doing its utmost to stop the course of the fast-approaching Social Revolution by using every conceivable form of violence to destroy the Anarchist movement; that 9,000 of our comrades are in jail; that many thousands are suffering at the hands of the reactionaries; that 10,000 people have already seized lands and factories; that our Spanish comrades have appealed to all Anarchists everywhere to help the Spanish Revolution not only through publicity and moral pressure, but through financial support as well, so that our imprisoned comrades may be freed and the cause of the Revolution advanced,

Therefore be it resolved that we, the Anarchist English Propaganda Conference assembled at Stelton, N. J., greet the Revolutionary workers of Spain and pledge our moral and financial support to our courageous comrades.

By Comrade Wally Krimont:

Inasmuch as Anarchists are agreed that the present system of society is opposed to the good of mankind by its exploitation of all workers, and that the wielders of power are very unlikely to abdicate their power without a struggle;

Be it resolved:

1. That *all* Anarchists are struggling towards revolution;

2. That this revolution must be one of *all* exploited peoples if a dictatorship of any one class or group is to be avoided;

3. That as our aim is the emancipation of man from as much as possible of life's drudgery as well as men-masters, full advantage should be taken of mankind's scientific and industrial achievements;

4. That for the accomplishment of this aim the finest kind of organization is necessary, built on the principle of voluntary cooperation and with recognition of the unpleasant as well as the pleasant tasks that will be required of us;

5. That the methods of directing our propaganda towards its ends will include

(a) An Anarchist press, of many periodical publications, addressed to particular groups of workers, and speaking the language of those workers, i.e., technical, industrial, agricultural, etc.;

(b) Speakers who will address groups throughout the country;

(c) Full use of all means of communication and publication;

6. That propaganda shall be related to life as it is lived, and shall not consist merely of philosophical treatises on Anarchism.

Practical methods of cooperation within trades and industries should be discussed, as well as cooperation between industries. Workers should take up immediately the task of learning as much as possible of the complexities of their particular trades, so that the period of transition following revolution shall not be stagnant;

That these aims may be achieved, all bickering between existent groups, and all personal attacks, shall cease.

In accordance with the decision made at the last session of the Conference at Stelton an adjourned meeting was held at The Workers' Center, 219 Second Avenue, New York City, on Thursday evening, July 7th. Claire Camerau, Secretary of FREEDOM, gave a short financial report stating that there was a deficit of about $300. Various opinions were expressed as to the wisdom of having four papers today, when less than a year ago we had none. It seemed doubtful whether the movement could support them, and was a matter of commonsense and economics rather than principle. Kelly pointed out that it cost about $115 a month for printing and postage for each issue of FREEDOM and suggested two ways of meeting that expense. One, by making a paper purely for comrades and relying on them to support it, and the other, by getting new readers and spreading the paper. If our ideas are to take root at all, he pointed out, the second is the only way, and if the comrades are not sufficiently interested in spreading the paper it cannot, and perhaps should not, exist. As to policy it is, of course, necessary to expose the atrocities committed by the governments of the world, but it is equally necessary to suggest ways and means of dealing with current problems. Crocker figured that there was a deficit of about $40 on each issue, so that the paper is doomed unless we reduce it to four pages or make it more acceptable, more attractive and saleable. He felt that it would be an irreparable disaster if the paper should fail. It was agreed, at the suggestion of Rose Pesotta, that we publish one issue for the months of July and August. She also suggested that we start correspondence with comrades throughout the country, print subscription lists and hold a raffle. Jagendorf suggested, as he did last year, that FREEDOM be supported by guaranteed vouchers. It was agreed that all information regarding contributions and donations and the expenses of publication be printed in future issues. Comrade Raymond's resignation as one of the editors of FREEDOM was accepted with regret, and a lecture committee of five, consisting of Jagendorf, Frager, Tabak, Elsie Kelly and Crocker, was elected.

FINANCIAL REPORT

OF THE CHICAGO SECTION OF THE RELIEF FUND FOR THE EXILED AND IMPRISONED ANARCHISTS IN RUSSIA

From June 9, 1931 to February 21, 1933

GENERAL INCOME

From Freie Arbeiter Stimme Subscribers and Unions	$199.75	
From 88 Workman's Circle Br.	169.75	
From 88 Spanish Comrades	27.72	$397.22

GENERAL EXPENSES:

Postage (4150 letters)	$ 83.12	
Printing	76.48	
Registered Mail	.67	
Exchange on Checks	7.80	
Returned Checks	3.75	$171.82
Net Profit		$225.40
Sent to Russia through Berlin		213.65
Balance on Hand		$ 11.75

Auditing Committee: J. Levine, Sam Kogan, B. Yelensky, Secretary

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Carl Nold writes:

"My opinion is that writers on the subject of Anarchism would do better to do as Jo Labadie did all his life, write for existing papers in the labor movement of all varieties and get the big idea across to all kinds of people—the big idea of Anarchism—and other ideas of present-day interest to all; write the ideas around the world and scatter them. . . . There are any number of publications now—and papers published by young people. Such a list one could make! Then there are groups in labor colleges, etc. One's ideas spread out would reach many."

ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE MODERN SCHOOL

THE MODERN SCHOOL ASSN. OF NORTH AMERICA, the organization which helps in the work and life of the Modern School at Stelton, N. J., will have its Annual Business Convention Friday evening, September 1 to Monday night, September 4 (Labor Day).

The fiscal year which is about at an end was rather a trying one on the School Management. And yet, all those who "did their bit" feel that the hard work was not in vain. At a time when powerful institutions have passed into oblivion, when profit bearing enterprises are compelled to bend under the strain of depression, the Modern School at Stelton has managed thus far to keep afloat.

But the future existence and vitality of the School depends on the forthcoming Annual Conference. It is imperative that as many groups and organizations as well as individual friends and sympathizers participate in the Convention. The School needs greater support, both material and moral, and a well attended Convention can make that possible.

THE PROGRAM

FRI., SEPT. 1—9 P.M.—Opening and a Youth Evening

SAT., SEPT. 2—9 P.M.—Musical Program and Entertainment

SUN., SEPT. 3—10 A.M.—Children's Assembly and Play

1:00-2:30 P.M.—Communal Dinner

3:00-5:00 P.M.—Session: Seating of Delegates, Reports and Election of Committees

6:00-9:00 P.M.—Dramatic Program followed by a Ball

MON., SEPT. 4—10:00 A.M. to 1:00 P.M.—Discussion of Resolutions and nominations

2:30-8:00 P.M.—Elections and Unfinished Business

VANGUARD

94 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK

June 20, 1933

Dear Comrades:

Will you kindly insert the following notice in your paper:

The Vanguard Group, feeling deeply the handicap imposed on those desirous of studying the history and philosophy of the anarchist and syndicalist movements by the lack of an adequate library of such literature in English, has decided to take the initiative in building such a library to fill the needs of comrades and sympathizers. We therefore appeal to all those having such books and pamphlets to either donate them to the Vanguard library or lend them for a specified length of time. We will guarantee their safe-keeping and will return them if and when requested. Those interested will please communicate at once with the Vanguard Group, 94 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

OUTING AND PICNIC

SUNDAY, AUGUST 13, 1933

AT

Mt. Airy, Croton-on-Hudson, New York

For friends of FREEDOM

Noon-day meal under the trees and round-trip from New York City for seventy-five cents

Admission without bus fare and lunch 50 cents

First Bus leaves 219 2nd Ave., N. Y., 8 A.M. Sharp

Second Bus leaves 242 St. & Van Cortlandt Park at 11 A.M. —(Last stop on Broadway Line)